THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. III, No. 29 | NEW YORK, N. Y. | September 1, 1930 | PRICE 5 CENTS

The Military Revolt in Peru

The constant struggle between British and North American financial interests, is clearly discernable in the present military revolt in Peru. Following close on the heels of the fall of the Siles dictatorship in Bolivia, Augusto B. Leguia, director Peru, has been forced to resign the government of that country into the hands of a military committee.

For eleven years, Leguia has served Wall Street well as its Peruvan "viceroy", being ever ready to support the American imperialist interests against their British rivals as well as against the masses of native peons and workers. The various movements which have attemtped to struggle in one form or another against the existing regime have been suppressed arbitrarily and in the most ruthless fashion. Consequently the prisons are filled with political prisoners ranging from the liberal bourgeois elements around Haya de la Torre in the A.P.R.A., which under the veil of the anti-imperialist struggle covers up its services to British capitalism, to the workers' and peasants' leaders who have dared to organize the masses against the imperialist exploitation.

A few years ago considerable attention was called in the revolutionary and even in the bourgeois press to the system of forced labor existigs in te mines asd highways of Peru, the peasants and Indians of certain regions being forced to work for a nominal wage and at times for nothing at all for a certain number of days yearly as a sort of "patriotic contribution" to the country's progress.

Peru is one of Wall Streets most productive colonies, being especially rich in oil, copper, vanadium and molybdenum. The interests of British imperialism are also large, amounting to $140,897,897 on January 1, 1929 as against $150,889,000 for the United States at the same date. Prior to geuiah administrations British investments greatly exceeded those of the United States bankers, but the war, together with the control by Wall Street of the political machine headed by Leguia, gave American interests the opportunity to expand and to outstrip the British interests. So far as can be judged by the information available up to now Leguia's downfall, while heralded throughout the world and especially throughout Latin America as a blow to "absolutism" is recognized on the New York stock exchange as a blow to the American investors. This is seen by the sudden drop taken by stocks of the Vanadium Corporation, the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, and by the government bonds and sharp fall of the Peruvian currency. Calvin Coolidge expressed the feelings of his masterh when he stated in his daily gargle that "the reports of a revolution making headway in Peru are disquieting and discouraging"

On the other hand we cannot refrain from cautioning the editors of the **Daily Worker** against going into ecstasies over the "attempt of the Peruvian masses to seize power". They made the mistake of so analyzing the Bolivian military **coup d'Etat** of a few weeks ago. Unfortunately the organization and fighting abilities of the Peruvian proletariat, as well as of the Bolvian, are at too low an ebb to make possible at the present moment an effective utilization of these family quarrels among the imperialists and their lackeys.

—RUSSELL BLACKWELL.

Vote Communist!

Against the Parties of Unemployment and Wage-Cuts, and the «Socialist» Reformers

The election campaign is well under way. The capitalist class has put up dummies who execute its orders in the city, state and national legislatures, and the sham battles between the two openly capitalist parties have begun with the usual attacks—entirely correct—upon each other's integrity, malfeasance and corruption in office, dishonesty and graft. The bankruptcy of the Republican and Democratic parties has rarely been brought out in such bold relief.

Capitalist Bankruptcy

The apostle of "permanent prosperity", Hoover, has been neither desirous nor capable of stemming the tide of misery and suffering that has inundated millions of unemployed workers and those at work whose standards are being brutally lowered. Hoover's Democratic critics, who are making the most of the political capital with which his incapacity serves them, shout all the more loudly against their Republican brothers-under-the-skin because they must themselves conceal their total failure to alleviate the indescribable conditions of the workers in those localities where there are Democratic administrations (New York City New York state, throughout the South, etc., etc.).

The truth is that the capitalist politicians, who represent the system which produces unemployment, child labor, prostitution, wars and misery, are cynically unconcerned about the sufferings of the workers except insofar as it gives them arguments against those in office and for those who want to get at the trough.

The third party of the bourgeoisie, the socalled Socialist Party, is still in the field with its petty shop-keeper's reforms. It has become a pure and simple election apparatus, with no more fixed membership than Tammany Hall, with candidates whose chief aim is to attract votes and not to advance the class interests of the workers. The party of Debs has become the party of Norman Thomas, with his quack reforms, and Heywood Broun, the idol of the liberal intellectuals.

The "Bulwark against Bolshevism"

..The American Socialist party is the spiritual and material brother of the British Labor Party, under whose administration unemployment in England has grown and flourshed like the green bay tree, under whose knout, saber and machine gun the Indian workers and peasants are being massacred. The Socialist Party is the political machine of the corrupt labor bureaucracy in the needle trades and elsewhere, the parasites who work hand in hand with the bosses against the cruelly exploited workers. The Socialist Party is a vote catching machine that constitutes a safe deposit for the discontentment of the workers. It is a "bulwark against Bolshevism"—as the more enlightened capitalist papers perceive—that is, a bulwark against the advance of the working class in struggle against their oppressors.

The workers are confronted—not only on election day but all through the year—by a dictatorship of the capitalist class, by that group of James W Gerard's multimillionaires who REALLY run the country, a dictatorship that can be abolished only by a dictatorship of the workers, that is, of the overwhelming majority of the people, a "dictatorship that would be a thousand times more democratic than any capitalist "democracy". The whole election system is a monstrous fraud of capitalism, a fraud which creates the illusion that the workers can seriously improve their lot or take control of industry by throwing enough bits of paper into the ballot box to "elect the right men"

The control of government, of industry, of power are never decided on the floors of congress, but on the battlefield of the class struggle. The elections give the workers the opportunity of testing their strength, their mood for struggle. The elections give the workers the opportunity of transforming the fraudulent paper battle around the ballot box into a genuine struggle for their demands: a struggle in the form of demonstrations and strikes that break through the hypocritical veil of spurious "democratic" elections.

The Main Issue

The principal issue of the day is unemployment, and the wage cuts, evictions, and starvation that accompany it. The Communist Party has properly focused the attention of the working class on this point. This party is the only one in the field that represents not only the immediate but also the final aim of the proletariat.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) has many disagreements with the policy of the Communist Party. We warn against the Party's tendency to make the social insurance bill the focal point in the election campaign It is not through bills in Congress that the unemployed will obtain relief, the evicted a rent moratorium, the workers an end to wage-cuts. To cause the workers to believe otherwise would be to sow the most destructive illusions among them. It is not Congress that can and will aid the unemployed by adopting a social insurance plan; it is not a bill that will aid the jobless in some dim, distant future (if ever under capitalism) It is the living, genuine struggle of the unemployed and the starving for food—of which there is plenty; of the homeless and evicted for roofs over their heads and against the grasping landlords—and homes there are enough—in short, it is only by their own struggles every day (and not around a ballot box) that workers can obtain relief.

The Communist League is also opposed to the appeal the Communist Party is making to the farmers—an appeal that does not unite the interests of the workers of the city with the workers in the fields and the poorest section of the famers, but sets the interests of the farmers in general against those of the city working class.

Where We Stand

But the Communist Party nevertheless remains OUR PARTY. Its errors and shortcomings are the errors and shortcomings of a temporary leadership violently imposed upon it. The Communist League has appealed to the Party for united action in support of the Communist campaign. The faction agents who run the Party by grace of appointment have rejected this appeal. We will continue in spite of that to support the Communist Party campaign with all our strength.

The Communist Party is the only Party of the working class. It embraces the main elements in the revolutionary movement. Despite its incompetent leadership and their destructive policies, the Party remains the only one that workers conscious of their class interests can support. A vote to the Democratic, Republican or Socialist parties is a vote thrown away to the class enemies of the workers and their loyal assistants and moderators. A vote for the Communist Party is a vote for working class power.

VOTE COMMUNIST! —S—n

Blumkin Dead-Is Rakovsky Next?

Every day brings news of intensified measures of repression against the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union. Stalin is taking new steps forward. In order to apply the "law" with even greater cynicism, he constantly extends the meaning of the accusations against our comrades. "Counter-revolutionist" addressed to them is not an insulting and lying epiphet, it is an accusation involving five and ten years in prison. Comrade Trotsky has been expelled fom the U.S.S.R. with the accusation of organizing "counter-revolutionary" movements—that is of organizing the Bolshevik, proletarian resistance to the pressure of class enemies whom the Stalinist apparatus fights in words.

At one time Yaroslavsky invented the police conspiracy of the "Wrangel officer"—of a socalled collusion with an **agent provocateur,** former Wrangel officer sent into the Opposition's ranks by the G.P.U.—in order to compromise our comrades in some infamous plot. Stalin continues to create "amalgams" of this kind at every occasion. But he no longer needs such complicated fables. He directly "amalgamates" the Oppositionists with the laws that punish counter-revolutionary activity of White Guards, capitalists and speculators. Hundreds of militants, revolutionary workers, have been sent into places of deportation, then into prisons and solitary confinement under the lying accusation of "counter-revolutionary" activity.

Now we learn that a new system of accusations has bees set going by the Stalinist apparatus. Our comrades are accused of **espionage in the interests of the counter-revolution** when their relations with **Opposition Communists outside the U.S.S.R.** are discovered. This monstrosity was disclosed by an accusation of espionage brought against a comrade imprisoned at Chimkent under the pretext that he was corresponding with comrade Trotsky. This is no isolated fact but a system. We learn that comade Pestov, at Slavianskoye Selo, was accused in the same sense at the moment of his arrest "of entertaining relation with the counter-revolution abroad" Similar accusations are brought against other comrades.

The aim of this new and abominable invention is clear. The accusation of belonging to the counter-revolution "in general" is not sufficient to attain the aim sought, which **is the physical extermination of the Left Opposition!** To be able to lock up revolutionists for ten years in solitary confinement prison, to extermisate the best groups of the Opposition by shooting them at will, they have invented "espionage" and "relations with the counter-revolution abroad". The mechanics of Stalin are obvious. It is this blind and murderous mechanics that had Blumkin shot, who followed Butov and others to their death Stalin is trying to generalize his activities—wich are genuinely counter-revolutionary.

Stalin is persecuting the very best.

(Continued on Page 5)

Carolina Demands Its Pound of Flesh

The hue and cry has been raised. The posses are out for their victims. The North Carolina supreme court has upheld the decision of the lower court in the case of the seven militants convicted for their activities in the recent Gastonia strike, and the authorities are demanding the surrender of the defendants out on bail. But the defendants are not surrendering and they are not to be found. It is even said that some are on their way to the Soviet Union or have already arrived there. And the chivalrous southern lynchers of Negroes and women are in an uncontrollable rage. Their victims are beyond their grasp. They have no intention of serving twenty of their best years in the murder holes that serve as Carolina's prisons.

The fury of the textile kings' legal footmen is boundless. Here they went to the expense of staging an elaborate frame-up in court, of producing their prejudiced witnesses, of paying god-fearing jurors, in order to send the active Gastonia Reds to prison for terms that mean life. And after the trial, and after the appeal, the cells prepared for the workers are just as empty as when it all began, and they promise to remain empty.

The hyenas have been cheated of their prey; the courts of their victims; the bloated textile manufacturers of their vengeance. And the people who murdered Ella May in cold blood are shouting about "honor", the people who raided and smashed tent colonies and relief stores, who kidnapped and tortured union organizers, who brutally assaulted picket lines, who organized hooded terror bands, are shouting about "the processes of law". The bullies who attack women and children, who lynch Negroes when they outnumber them a hundred to one, who are immune from reprisals by the mighty powers of the state and its courts and police forces, are shouting about "cowards who run away"!

The respecatble and "impartial" capitalist press of the North has joined in the hue and cry for surrendering the seven. The New York **Telegram**, with its pseudo-liberalism that melts away at every touch of the class struggle, also presumes to speak of the missing defendants as "cowards". Its editors probably got the tip from the miserable article in the **Daily Worker** recently by Earl Browder, who accused comrade George Saul of cowardice for having "run away from a six-month chain gang sentence". This creature of Stalin, without convictions of his own or the courage of the convictions allotted to him by his employer, maintains a deep lence on the Gastonia defendants now, not having the courage to defend their refusal to walk into the life-long dungeons the Southern Bourbons have prepared for them.

For our part, the prison cells of Southern reaction may continue to be empty. The executioners of capitalist class justice have already taken more than enough toll in the wracked and tortured bodies of thousands of labor's best sons. Let the assassins of Haymarket, of Little and Hill, of Sacco and Vanzetti, cynical jailors of Mooney and Billings, the Centralia men, the Communists throughout the country—let these Shyloks demand their pound of flesh of the Gastonia militants. Their howls leave the class conscious working class cold . . . and firmer in its determination to release the class war prisoners who are still inside.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, ($5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

'Third Period' Bluff

Bessemer City Strikes Again

On May 18, over 800 workers of the American Mills, No. 1 and 2 of Bessemer City, N.C., went out on strike against a 20 to 30 percent wage cut and the ruinous pace at which they are driven by the mill bosses. In flarng headlines, the **Daily Worker** immediately announced this defensive struggle as being "under the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union". The next issue of the **Worker** however, meekly and obscurely informed us that "there is a danger of a repitition of the form of betrayal made famous in the Flint automobile strike, with misleaders seeking to betray the strike by waging an attack on the T.U.U.L. organization which has outlined a policy of struggle and spreading the strike." On the third day, the Daily Worker declared even more humbly and more obscurely, that "it is not true, as previously stated that the N.T.W.U. is leading the strike."

Leadership of strikes and other struggles is not won overnight, nor do betrayals take place with such startling and mechanical suddenness. Betrayals come "like lightning" only as culminating points of actions and tactics over a period of time, prepared in advance in a manner obvious to the militant elements (at least they should be obvious), and this is precisely what the **Worker** tries to cover up. To make it clear would be to expose the results of the official Party's policy.

A Year Ago and Now

One year ago, we led the strike in Bessemer City at the same time that we led the Gastonia strike, and although the strike committee had misleaders and stool pigeons on it, our forces with correct tactics, were able to isolate them and gain the leadership of the strike. The Bessemer City strike, it is true, had largely been foreshadowed by the Gastonia strike but it was our tactics that carried us forward, and the July 28 Bessemer City conference, with a couple of hundred delegates and over 1,500 workers present demonstrated our progress. We had a union hall in Bessemer, held regular meetings, had two mill locals and two other groups in the first stages of mill locals. Bessemer City supported us through the overwhelming majority of the textile workers and the police were friendly just to the degree that they were former textile workers themselves and felt our strength and the solidity of the workers. (Bessemer City, by the way, was the home town of the martyred Ella May.)

From a condition of hegemony and undisputed leadership and with the possibilities greater and favorable objective factors, only one year passes for us to reach a point where our leadership is not only rejected, but organizers sent into the town are beaten up and almost lynched by hostile elements, who, consciously or not, play the game of the bosses and the Black Hundreds Last year, when the Black Hundreds rode Gaston County we were able to hold our own in Bessemer City (which is six miles from Gastonia); today the tables are turned.

Not all of the bombastic phrase-mongering, and the self-praise so disgraceful in a revolutionist, not all the cheap journalistic talk about "Our Party being the only revoutionary leader of the mass struggles of the American workers", can successful conceal the lamentable failure of the Party bureaucrats and their policies. The Bessemer City strike, like the Flint, Michigan and Pittston strikes before it reveal the fact that the Party leadership, substituting phrases and ever-changing theses for solid, every day preparatory work, is usually caught entirely unawares by struggles in precisely those localities and industries where it should have been decisively in the forefront and leadership.

Instead of this difficult" work of persistent (and sometimes slow) foundation laying, the Party leaders follow the policy of making the membership drunk with intoxicating phrases about the "masses following our leadership by the million", about " the crisis in American capitalism is finally breaking it down", and similar blubber.

Result of Phrase Mongering

The result is that when a struggle does break out, the Party and the Left wing are frequently on the outside, estranged from the workers. This was true in the anthracite movement; and to cover up its own bankruptcy, the leadership followed its usual course of monstrous bluff to the effect that the "N. M. U. was leading thousands of miners in a strike against unemployment". The same thing held true in Flint. No preparations of a substantial, solid nature. The strike broke out. The customary concealment of impotence by loud shouting and bluff to the effect that the "Auto Workers Industral Union is leading the Flint stikers" —until the ease with which the bosses' agent, Comstock ,sold out the workers put an end to the pitiful fairy tales of the **Daily Worker**. And now the Bessemer City strike in the heart of the Party's former strength in the South, without the slightest Communist or Left wing influence on it. Here the attempt to bluff about "N.T.W.U. leadership" collapsed in two days, and the shamefaced denial had to be recorded quietly in the Party press.

The Party is entirely correct in pointing out that a leadership which rejects class struggle unionism and direction, and Communist participation will run the strike to ground. The Party is similarly correct in fighting against the element in control of the strike and attempting to win the strikers to the National Textile Workers Union. But the Party methods are wrong and it is these that have given birth to the very forces they are fighting. To miss opportunities and fight with false exaggerated policies, is to play into the hands of the reactionary element who can then demagogically influence the workers against a proletarian outlook and method of struggle.

It must be repeated that Bessemer City is in the very heart of the Party's most sensational struggle, of its fortress in the South. That it is now entirely out of the N.T.W.U.'s hand is an alarm signal for the Communist workers. The "third period" and its philosophy have already witnessed several strikes in this country: Illinois, Flint, Imperial Valley, Pittston, and now Bessemer City. They were indications of the better objective situation for the movement, and the incapacity of the Party leaderhip. The dumping of the "third period" and its philosophers is the preliminary condition to the progress of the revolutionary movement. Bessemer City shows us why. —HUGO OEHLER

ACT NOW!

The Militant, Room 4
25 Third Avenue, New York City

Enclosed find $2.00 for one year's subscription to the Militant. Please send me at once a copy of Trotsky's book on the Draft Program.

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY .....STATE.....

News from Southern California

LOS ANGELES—

Trials! Every week another one! With the exception of March 6, the demonstrations of February 26, March 20 (Paris Commune), May 1 and August 1, were only attempts at demonstrations but in this reactionary town of L.A. comrades are being arrested for "attempting" as well as for holding a meeting.

At the head of the Red Squad is none other than Wm .F. Hynes, who boasts of having belonged to the Workers Party for nine months at its organization, who boasts of leading a strike in San Pedro—this working class traitor and boiler of little children (for he actually punished children that way) arrests 28 at one meeting, 16 at another, 10 at a third, puts them behind bars, beats them, and then sentences them to long months of imprisonment. There is not a Communist in Los Angeles Party member or not, Y.C.L. member or Pioneer, who hasn't got a jail sentence waiting for him.

Of all the demonstrations, March 6 was the exception, due to the newspaper publicity that the "Communists are going to capture the City Hall". The streets were packed with great crowds who came to see the big show. Where were the masses on May 1 and August 1? They were not to be seen in spite of the fact that 100,000 leaflets were mimeographed and distributed for May 1 and 35,000 for August 1. The "Red" Plaza was empty on both occasions. The Communists were not allowed to enter the Plaza on May 1", and so a few hundred comrades who gathered "demonstrated" on the sidewalks near the Plaza, led by the Pioneers. On August 1, the 50 comrades present witnessed the following demonstration": the Y.C.L. members and Pioneers hired a truck with high sides, hid within it, and entered the Plaza in the truck from which the singing of the "International" aroused the police and 28 were arrested. Of course the papers played it up. "Reds Riot on the Plaza" is their favorite headline.

For the first time in L.A. the jury disagreed in the last two trials. Frank Spector and Carl Sklar, sentenced to 42 years in Folsom and San Quentin were brought handcuffed from the California Bastilles to these trials. Of course, dates for the new trials have already been set. California justice cannot afford to let its victims loose. One woman juror was reprimanded by the judge for reading the **Daily Worker** while on the jury. She replied that the other jurors read the labor-hating Los Angeles **Times**.

* * *

Organizers in the Party in L.A. change like hot cakes on a Childs' frying pan. Bureaucrat Begler is gone, charged with "criminal neglect of duty". Mobil suddenly disappeared. Clark is in jail. So a 20-year old girl, hardly capable of holding a position, was appointed for the job.

* * *

The Friends of the Soviet Union held an enthusiastic meeting with Dan Donovan of the American Labor delegation to the Soviet Union. The hall was crowded with a thousand people who listened attentively and applauded heartily, for the story of the Soviet Union is the only one that can fill a hall for the C.P. in Los Angeles. Of course, Donovan did not mention the persecutions undergone by Oppositionists. No questions were asked due to the lateness of the hour, and the pictures shown did not show the prisons and places of exile where Rakovsky and his comrades are suffering under the Stalinist regime.

—B.B.

Φ

To defeat the great, centralized bourgeoisie is a thousand times easier than to "defeat" millions and millions of small owners (bosses) who in their daily, imperceptible intangible but demoralizing activities achieve the very results desired by the bourgeoisie, which **restore** the bourgeoisie. Whoever in the least weakens the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), aid in fact the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. —LENIN

THE MILITANT, Vol.III,No.29 September 1 1930. Published twice monthly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: $2.00 per year; foreign $2.50. Five cent per copy. Bundle rates 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as se-cond class mail matter, November 28 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879(Total No. 54)

The Liberals' Pet Union

After the A. C. W. Convention

It is three months since the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was held in Toronto. Are the clothing workers better off today than before the convention? The answer of the workers will be, No! The conditions of the workers are becoming worse day after day.

Let us analyze for a moment what happened at the convention. The writer, in a series of articles in the Militant last May, foretold not to expect anything from the convention, because the rank and file were not represented there.

Convention Accomplishment

What did the convention accomplish except banquetting and boozing? The convention was opened with "God Save the King" and the "Star Spangled Banner" Then came greetings and praise from the chiefs of the organization for not having a militant Left wing opposition present. There was not a single delegate at this convention who had the guts to take the floor and challenge the present administration for the deplorable conditions of the workers. Everything at this convention was decided unanimously.

There were two cliques at the convention, which fought for control of the New York organization: the Forward-Beckerman clique and the Hillman clique. Both fought to keep the workers in submission. When the question of the New York organization came before the convention, Beckerman took the floor and made a speech. He showed how the workers in N.Y. suffer, and that the organization is in a critical condition. There was no one to laugh at him, and it would be proper were not the conditions of the tailors so tragic. This is the man responsible for most of the evils in the N.Y. organization, such as the introduction of piece work systems, reductions in wages every season, throwing workers off the job, blackjacking them, etc., and he was the one to oppose the administration. This was merely a political maneuver. Beckerman's speech proved one thing; he was compelled to admit that the workers in New York suffer and work under the most inhuman conditions.

It did not take the shrewd politician, Hillman, long to patch things up and make peace between the two cliques and divide the spoils among them. With this the opposition came to an end.

The convention went on record for life insurance, which means the protection of the workers when they are dead, not when they are alive. The convention also went on record for the 40-hour week, an organizational campaign in every center, and the strengthening of the New York organization. Has Hillman made any attempt to carry through these decisions? No!

The New York Lock-out

In the New York organization, a serious situation developed. Three branches of the industry were locked-out: canvas makers, kneepants makers and children's jacket makers. The employers asked a reduction in wages from the already meager earnings of the workers. Hillman, instead of mobilizing the workers for a strike and demanding the 40-hour week, the abolition of piece work, production standards and reduction of wages, is doing everything in his power with the aid of his paid agents to send the workers back to work with reductions in wages.

Who is responsible for the lock-out of the jacket makers? Max Kaplan, the manager of the contractors' association. This man was expelled years ago from local 12 for being a scab agent and breaking a strike of the Journeymen's Tailors' Union. He was exposed in Hillman's office and Hillman has been dealing with him for the past few years (see **Fortschritt,** official A.C.W. organ of August 11, 1916, page 3.) The Amalgamated fought a lockout for 26 weeks in 1920-21 and Hillman refused to negotiate with the manufacturers' association until lawyer Gordon was withdrawn. For the past few years now Hillman has been dealing with a scab agent.

Is it to be wondered at that the workers have to yield reductions and production and starve under such a bunch of parasites that call themselves union officers? What have the pen-slaves and professional boosters to say about this?

Were Hillman sincere and interested in the suffering of the workers he would declare a general strike and help improve the workers' conditions. But Hillman's union is kept up with the aid of the employers. How can he proceed against the interests of the employers? Although the last three conventions have gone on record for the 40-hour week, Hillman has never made any effort to carry the decision through.

Hillman, you know, is a democrat, a wise statesman, an intelligent leader, a respectable banker. He doesn't believe in calling strikes. We in the Amalgamated are better off than the workers in the other needle trades. We only work 20 and 30 hours a week due to Hillman's efficiency and speed-up system. In reality, the workers in the contracting shops work 46 and 47 hours a week, and the officers of the Joint Board know about it.

The "Organizational Campaign"

What about the organizational campaign? Hillman will surely show wonders, just as he did in Philadelphia where the workers were forced to give a reduction of from 20 to 40 percent under the union agreement. We reproduce here a letter from the Toronto firm of Wm. H. Leishman and Co., signed by president John I. Mills, and dated may 6:

"From investigation, it appears that quite a number of our group are desirous that our shop be a Preferential Union Shop. We have given a good deal of thought to this proposition and have come to the conclusion that to avoid serious disturbance, it is advisable that we carry out your suggestion by entering into an agreement with the Union and subscribe to the Market Agreement now in force with the greater majority of the Toronto manufacturers....

"We have arranged with the Union that the reduced rates offered our Group will be available to any or all of our employees who wish to join them at this time. You will realize that in order to be employed be a member.

"If there is any information that you require, Mr. Black (the vice-president of the firm) will be glad to have any of you come to his office and discuss any matter that you are not clear on."

Years ago the workers were fired for joining a union; today, the employers urge their workers to join the Amalgamated. Isn't this in the nature of a miracle? I am sure "comrade" J. B. S. Hardman-Salutsky will write an editorial for his boss to prove that the Amalgamated is still a militant union, as he has done on many occasions when the unon officialdom forced reductions in wages upon the workers and introduced the piece work system.

Where is the Left Wing?

Who is to be blamed, essentially, for not having a strong Left wing militant group in the Amalgamated? The peanut politicians of the "third period" who, instead of mobilizing the workers and preparing them for a fight inside the union, are calling upon the workers to join the Industrial Union—which simply doesn't work under the present relationship of forces. This policy will only cause a few more victims to lose their jobs and that is the end again. The next day they tell the workers to participate in elections which is advocated by the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

The Left wing must mobilize the workers inside the Amalgamated and fight for policies of the class struggle, as we have pointed out in the Militant a number of times. The Left wing's zig-zag policy of praising Hillman to the skies one day and pulling isolated members out of the union the next day—that is what Hillman and his machine want. This will keep the machine in power and the workers will be left the prey of Hillman, Salutsky and Beckerman. Let us unite our forces inside the organization and do away with the Hillman machine as we once did away with Tom Rickert of the United Garment Workers.

—A. SCHNEIDER

(This article was written during the recent lockout of a few branches of the New York men's clothing workers.—Ed.)

Maurice Malkin Stands with the Opposition!

Maurice Malkin, now serving a sentence in Comstock prison for his activities in the furriers' strike of a few years ago, was the first rank and file worker to rally to the banner of the Left Opposition upon its expulsion from the Party. His incessant agitation and general activity for our movement was a source of permanent irritation to the Party bureaucrats. They tried to end his activities by gangster methods, but without success. It was only after comrade Malkin was sentenced and had already begun to serve his term that the Stalinist clique began to exert a different kind of pressure upon him.

In October, 1929, the **Daily Worker** triumphantly published a statement allegedly written in prison by comrade Malkin, in which he was to have repudiated the Opposition and returned to the Stalinist camp. We wrote at that time, in the face of this "repudiation" that Malkin had been an Opposition fighter and would remain one; that when the whole story of this "statement" was made known it would expose the Party and I.L.D. bureaucracy in a disgraceful light. We are now in a position to make the truth known, and that on the basis of comrade Malkins' own letter to us.

The statement printed in the **Daily Worker** last year was obtained in a manner which set a precedent—and a despicable one—in the labor and revolutionary movement.

"That statement was not made by me," writes comrade Malkin, "but by some of Lovestone's agents in the **D.W.** office or one of the Stalinist leaders in the national office of the Party. I challenge the Party officials to publish the original statement with the one printed in October which was extorted from me and then falsified so that as soon as I read it in the **Worker** I immediately wrote Wm. Z. Foster demanding that the original be printed. It had been squeezed out of me under threats and pressure from the I.L.D. and Party leadership to the effect that they would stop my defense and economic support of my parents unless I made a statment."

Comrade Malkin's parents are of course so advanced in years that they are totally incapable of fending for themselves, and relied upon their son. The threat to withdraw the financial aid of the I.L.D. would have condemned them to virtual starvation. Never in the history of our movement, so far as we are aware, was financial pressure exerted upon a class war prisoner by a defense organization to compel him to change his political opinions. It remained for the cynical hacks appointed to run and ruin the I.L.D. and the Party to use this monstrous method of "ideological enlightenment".

Understanding as we do the circumstances under which comrade Malkin was compelled to make his statement, we do not make an apology for it here. But there are no words too sharp to condemn the criminal procedure of the Stalinists in this case. Their boasts of Malkin's "capitulation" are groundless. He remains with the Opposition. In his letter to us, he says:

" I deem it necessary to make this statement to clarify my position. I was one of the first in the C.P. of A. to align myself with the Leninist Opposition, the group that defends the teachings of Lenin and Marx, and I will remain with this group which is led by Lenin's co-worker and collaborator, L. D. Trotsky, until the day the Russian and the international working class has removed the leadership of Stalin, Molotov and Co., and the International Opposition is returned from prison and exile to their rightful posts.

"Only then will we be able to realize, not the building of socialism in one country —according to the reactionary theory of Stalin and Co.—but a real Leninist International and a world Communist society.

"Long live the Leninist Opposition!

"Long live Leninism and its leading defender, Trotsky!

"Long live Rakovsky and the other Oppositionists exiled and imprisoned by the present anti-Leninist regime led by Stalin!

—MAURICE L. MALKIN

Comrade Malkin's re-adherence to the ranks of the Opposition is an index, added to the many that have appeared recently, of the growing strength and vitality of our movement. We welcome him again into our ranks.

James McInerney

The news of the death in Walla Walla, Wash. penitentiary of James McInerney has come as a shock to every class conscious worker in the country. McInerney was one of the famous Centralia I.W.W. defendants sentenced by a bosses' court to from 20 years to life imprisonment for having defended their hall and lives, weapons in hand, against a mob of uniformed American Legion gunmen who raided it on Armistice day, 1919, with murder in their eyes. Wesley Everest, one of the I.W.W. members, was lynched by the mob after having been unspeakably tortured and finally castrated by the masked cowards.

McInerney, one of the finest types of revolutionary workers in the country, was himself tortured bestially. With the bullet wound received in the famous **Verona** battle, the tortures in Centralia, and the destructive regime in prison the last ten years, even his usually robust health was undermined. He died of tuberculosis and spinal meningitis—his blood on the hands and head of the lumber barons, their Legionaries and their corrupted courts.

Upon receipt of the tragic news, the I.W.W. throughout the country organized memorial demonstrations. In New York over a thousand workers gathered on two days notice at 14th Street and University. Speakers representing the Lovestone group, the Lore organization, the Socialist party, the Proletarian party, the anarchists, spoke from the platform. Max Shachtman spoke for the Communist League (Opposition) and Herbert Mahler, the chairman, and W.I. Fisher spoke for the I.W.W. The leaders of the Communist Party and the "non-partisan" I.L.D. refused to participate or send a speaker on the grounds that they would not occupy the same platform "with Trotskyists and Lovestoneites"! This act of spiteful and criminal sabotage did not raise the prestige of the Party among the sympathetic workers; it was only greeted with bitter indignation.

In the meantime the balance of the Centralia men are still imprisoned, all of them under the threat of McInerney's martyr death. They are among the men that have created one of the sturdiest traditions of the American labor and revolutionary movement. Their continued imprisonment remains a rebuke to the workers—particularly the militants among them. The untimely death of McInerney is a startling reminder of the obligations the working class, for whom these fighters worked so loyally, has toward them.

Are our prisoners to die in their cells, like trapped rats? Shall the hand of death alone release them from imprisonment, or shall it be the linked arms of labor battering down the steel and stone that holds them?

CASE OF COLD FEET

KANSAS CITY—

N. Sorenson, D.O. of K.C. was advertised to speak August 1st at 15th and The Paseo. When time came to call the meeting N. Sorenson, the D.O. fails to appear.

Comrade Jenne Rovinsky, who remains a loyal (but honest) Stalinite, gets up on the box and addresses the 40 or more workers who turned out to hear the D.O. of Kansas City.

How Jennie Rovinsky who is a sincere and courageous fighter can have any confidence in these bluffers like N. Sorenson and the Browders is a mystery.

N. Sorenson shows up August 2nd and says he was held by the police. Fear of exposure made him change to county officials. We have found on investigation that no N.Sorenson (or alias) was held by city police or county officials on August 1st. Sorenson will have a hard time to explain his actions to the comrades here in K.C.

N. Sorenson, D.O. of K.C. has left the city and put E. Peterson in charge as acting D. O.

E. Peterson two years ago defied the D.O. and District Committee—when asked to make a financial report as District Literature Agent. When pressed later on he admitted he was short over $100.00 in his account. He has been looking for a Party job for over four years now. At last temporarily he is a big job holder.

Faking, bluffing and misappropriating Party funds is not going to build a Communist Party in the U.S.A.

—A. A. BUEHLER

WHO WILL PREVAIL?

The provisional character of the Congress is displayed more crudely than the most imaginative Oppositionist might have conceived it. What is the single episode of Uglanov worth? This bully, audacious when he is is the apparatus, but a rag whes he is outside of it, repented for the second time by unresevedly recognizing all the "rhythms" and all the "periods". Does that look as it were enough? They laughed at him. Is that what he was asked? Are you a little child? Then acknowledge that Stalin is a born leader and countersign it.

Evidently, Uglanov acknowledged it and, of course, he countersigned it. Everything is now reduced to that. The five year plans may vary; yesterday the growth was still 9 percent; today it is 30 percent. The five year plans may become four or three year plans and, for collectivization, even two year plans. But that is not the question. Acknowledge Stalin. The assembling does not take place on a program, nor on ideas, nor on methods, but on a person. Stalin surrounds himself with a Central Committee, the Central Committee with District Committees, and the District Committees select a Party. The Congress assembles only for the purpose of demonstrating for things settled in advance. Taken as a whole, it is a preparation for Bonapartism within the framework of the Party. It takes a pitiful blind man or a tired official not to see it and not to understand it. But to see and understand it, and to keep still, is possible only for scoundrels. There are not a few of them among the capitulators.

The ten hours report of Stalin—what emptiness of bureaucratic thought!

Stalin's Figures

The figures of success are not presented to instruct, but to dazzle and deceive the Party. The successes are incontestable—it is not we who deny it; we foresaw them and we fought for them at a time when the motto of the Party was to be satisfied with the "slow growth", at a time when all the Kaganovitches shrieked at us while defending the five year plan at 9 percent: "Where will you get the means, demagogues?" At a time when all the Yaroslavskys, in reply to criticism of the shameful minimalism of the original five year plan, threw volumes of control figures at the heads of the speakers; at a time when the Molotovs jeered at the very idea of the possibility of a 20 percent increase after the end of the reconstruction period. The successes are undeniable. We foresaw and fought for them a long time.

Already in the first control figures of the state plan of 1925, very imperfect and very timid, we discerned "the music of socialism in construction". What sarcasm this expression aroused among the philistines, the ignoramuses, the dunces, the talentless geniuses of the all-powerful apparatus. Now that all the immense possibilities contained in the October revolution have blazed a way through the most stubborn difficulty—the narrow conservative spirit of the bureaucracy—the latter parades in its Congress:

"The October revolution: that is us! Socialism: that is us! And everything else: that is us also! For the State, is us!" After which Stalin appears and explans: "The workers' State, that is I; and all of them, they are still I." And since they have destroyed and trampled down the control of the masses, they need an arbitrary power, a chief, the coronation of the hierarchy, the first among all: Stalin.

That is why they rise and proclaim in choru: "Yes. We are he." That is the music of the Sixteenth Congress.

The economic successes are considerable. But the difficulties and the contradictions are still greater On that point Stalin said nothing. Or rather, he merely said just what was needed to conceal the difficulties and attentuate the contradictions.

Nothing but figures to characterize the rhythm of growth! Not a figure to characterize the quality of production! It is as though to describe the constitution of a man, one gave his height without giving his breadth. This also applies to the question of net costs. The whole economic system, and above all, its management, is tested by the output of labor and the tributary economic forms of the market, the output of labor is measured by the production costs or the net costs. To avoid this question is to declare a man healthy by looking at his face without either listening to him or taking his pulse.

The inter-dependence of the city and the country is regulated among us by the exchange: money is not yet a thing of the past. Stalin said nothing about the dangers of inflation.

The problem of the relation of taxed prices of agricultural products and retail prices of manufactured commodities is one of the central problems not only of economy but of the whole social and political system based on the October revolution. Are the "scissors" of the price of manufactured objects and agricultural products closing or widening, the "scissors" of which one blade represents the worker and the other the peasant. Not a word about that in the report.

On the contrary, one finds there the affirmaton that the dilemna: "Who will prevail?", is now settled and conclusively. This conclusion is drawn from the incontestable weakening of capitalist forces in the internal market. But this weakening does not decide the question. The village has not yet said its final word. The contradictions of the country are being brought into the frame-work of the collective farms, but they have not yet disappeared. They will reveal themselves. A good harvest will revive their acuteness. The drivelers and numbskulls will surely say that we are against a good harvest. All the Rudzutaks have Mikoyaned, all the Mikoyans have Rudzutaked on this theme for many years until, in their ardor, they ran their heads against the Kulaks' barns. That is when they proclaimed in **Pravda** that, as a result of two good harvests, the Kulak had attracted the middle peasant and taught him to conduct the grain strike against the Workers' State. The less the leadership is capable of foresight, the more the process of differentiation pursues its fatal course. It will pass through all the collective farms and develop the differentiation between the various farms and within them. And that is when the leadership, which is strong for forecast after the event, will convince itself that the framework of the collective farms, lacking solid material and cultural foundations are exposed to all the contradictions of merchant economy. The majority of the bureaucratically created collective farms will become the arena of the class struggle. That means that the dilemna: "Who will prevail?" will arise anew in all its amplitude, raised to a higher degree.

The World Market

But the struggle will not stop there. The internal forces of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. draw their importance and significance from the forces of world capitalism. But Mikoyan—this infant prodigy—will probably have to convince himself that there really is "this world market to which we are subordinate, to which we are bound, from which we cannot escape," (Lenin at the 11th Congress.) The dilemna: "Who will prevail?" is in the last analysis the question of the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and world capitalism. This problem is not solved but only posed by history. The internal successes are of great importance because they give the possibility of consolidation, of progress, and when it is necessary to wait, of holding on. But no more. The internal economic struggles are vanguard battles with an enemy the bulk of whose forces is beyond the border. The dilemna: "Who will prevail?", not only on the military field, not only on the political field, but primarily on the economic field, is posed before us on a world scale—or more precisely, it circumscribes us.

Military intervention is dangerous. Economic intervention by low-priced products is incomparably more dangerous. The question of economic power and of political stability leads in the last analysis to the question of labor productivity. In merchant economy, labor productivity is expressed by the net cost and sales price. **The "scissors" between home prices and the prices of the world market constitute the most important measure of the relation of forces between growing socialism and its capitalist encirclement.** What has become of these "scissors" in the course of the last two and a half years? On this essential question, no reply. Stalin gives no seriously studied comparative coefficient, no Marxist formula to define the dynamic interdependence of home and world economy. The engineer who runs an electrie station must have before him a chart of the control apparatus by means of which he ceaselessly follows all the fundamental processes of production and the distribution of energy . In the same way, the economic direction of the Soviet State must have on its "chart" the constant system of coefficients which characterize—not only the absolute growth of industry—but also the curve of net costs, the purchasing power of the tchervonetz, the home and foreign "scissors". If not, the leadership is compelled to react blindly to economic disorder, until the saftey apparatus explode one after the other, fire breaks out, and the consumers lose themselves in the night.

The emptiness of ten hours of bureaucratic thought will teach the Party nothing and prepare it for nothing. Quite the contrary it can only lull it with the disgraceful melody of "national socialism".

The Party Regime

At all events, the most threatening danger is not constituted today by the "scissors" between home and foreign prices. The most threatening danger is the "scissors" between the Party bureaucracy and the working class, with the complete impotence and the decomposition of the Party. The monstrous parade of "monolithism" is crowned by a small, a very small circumstance; but a very menacing one: this "monolithism" of two millions cannot tolerate the slightest criticism of the leadership. In the thirteenth anniversary of the dictatorship, after all the economic and cultural successes, after the question "Who will prevail?" is pronounced finally settled and when, consequently, the Party regime should become incomparably freer than at the time of the civil war—the ruling Party, that is, the bureaucracy, does not tolerate a single critical remark by a worker, a single timid question by the student: "Is not the Central Committee responsible for the deviations?" The whole press, unleashing its standardized rage, denounces the remark of the worker or the question of the student as the most direct and most threatening danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bureaucracy of the G.P.U. does not let itself be surpassed by the Party bureaucracy, with its Yagodas and under-Yagodas grown ripe under the Stalinist sun. The Agabekovs watch vigilantly over Stalinist monolithism up to the moment when they pass over to the class enemy.

One of the deported Oppositionists is hunted down by virtue of the statute on espionage for having corresponded with Trotsky. This idea undoubtedly comes from the Master himself. For his whole mastery consists only of such ideas. In his speech to the Congress, Stalin said that the Left Opposition serves information to the press of the world bourgeoisie. What information? The verbose speaker said nothing about that. However, from the information that the bourgeoisie gets from our publications it can draw but one conclusion: that in spite of the Thermidorian lies of Stalin's agents, we, Bolshevik-Leninists, constitute an inseparable part of the Soviet Republic, its devoted soldiers, ready to defend it to the very end and at the same time, the Left wing of the international proletarian vanguard. The world bourgeoisie and the social democracy understand this very well. That is why they enclose us in a hostile blockade, for which the Dovgalevskys, the Bessedovskys, and the Cachins join with Tardieu, the Krestinskys come to understandings with the ministers of Hindenburg, and the Sokolnikovs conspire with the Hendersons. There is the real distribution of men on the great chess-board.

As for ourselves, we ask what information is needed by the world bourgeoisie, after what is furnished it by the official Stalinist press agency, and primarily by Stalin himself. The president of the Soviet of Commissars is spoken of as a sabotager Yesterday's leaders of the Comintern are branded as the "agents of the bourgeoisie". For the amusement of children, they exhibit yesterday's guides of the trade unions and of the Moscow organization who purged it of "Trotskyism" for many years. On top of this, the official press publishes information on the passage of "Trotskyists" from the ranks of the Red Army into the ranks of Chiang Kai-Shek. Is all this a joke? The world bourgeoisie knows the history of the Red Army well enough to ask itself: **"If this is true, then what does it mean?"** At the same time, irreproachable Bolsheviks, unshakable revolutionists are persecuted for having corresponded with Trotsky. Do not these facts, furnished every day and every hour by the Stalinist apparatus—which tramples under foot and drags into the mud the whole past of the Party and the revolution solely for the purpose of forging a falsified biography for the provisional chief—do not these facts suffice for the world bourgeoisie?

And if that is not enough, the Stalinist informers appear in their second edition: Bessedovsky. Krukov, Agabekov who have ceaselessly combatted Trotskyism for seven years, who yesterday—literally **yesterday**—directed the purging of the nuclei, and who pass directly into the camp of the class enemy furnishing the Secret Services of imperialism with all the secrets of the Soviet government which were confided to them or which they were aware of. What information does the bourgeoisie still need after what they are constantly furnished with by the Stalinsts of today and the Stalinists of yesterday, who supplement one another?

Stalin's Repressions

After the shooting of Blumkin, Stalin replaced him with Agabekov. There is a fact which sums up the policy that Stalin carries out in the Party. At the same time, the Agabekovs persecute the revolutionists who correspond with Trotsky by virtue of the statute which is supposed to permit Stalin to perpetrate new assassinations. He who does not understand the symptomatic and threatening import of this fact is a miserable idiot. He who understands and keeps quiet is a scoundrel.

Neither the repression nor the threats will silence us. The stake of this struggle is too grave: it is the fate of the Party of Lenin and the October revolution. Not only of the C.P of the S.U. but of the international Party of Lenin, which has today fallen under the direction of the adjutant Flick under the pseudonym of Molotov. It is a question of the preservation of world Communism. The struggle between Leninism and Stalinism is still open. And here the question "Who will prevail" assumes its full amplitude.

Repression will not cause us to deviate from our path. The bloodiest and most envenomed violence of Stalin will not separate us from the Party and will not oppose us to the Party that Stalin holds at the throat. But we will redouble, and treble and multiply tenfold the energy of our struggle. Today we continue to serve the aims that we served in the 1905 revolution, during the imperialist slaughter, in the 1917 revolution, the civil war, the first period of economic construction, the foundation of the Comintern, the struggles against the cowardice of the philistine epigones, for a bold rhythm of socialist construction, against national socialism, for the international revolution!

—THE BULLETIN OF THE OPPOSITION
(BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)

In the International

Where Is the British Party?

Nine years ago the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed. The delegates at that unity convention in 1921, representing over 5,000 members, had visions that at last a united revolutionary party had become a reality.

It would be quite true to state that every delegate present honestly believed that with the elimination of sectional differences, which would from then onwards be settled within the party, a rapid advance would be made.

A Nine Years' Balance

Nine years have passed and what are the results? Have we built up that strong revolutionarq party rooted in the masses? Has our membership gone up in leaps and bounds? Has our influence spread into every section of working class life? The answer to these questions is unfortunately, No. In fact, we haven't even held our own. The reverse is the case.

Our membership has decreased by fifty percent Our influence is of a negligible quality and as for being rooted in the masses, we are scarcely in touch.

Many reasons can be given and many excuses made. The writer puts forward his reasons as to why.

A revolutionary party in an industrial country like Britain must have leaflers that continue to be in close touch with industry. Our leaders, with few exceptions, have never been industrial workers or else they left industry with the formation of the party. If a mass meeting is to be held with three or four of our leading executive members as speakers, we can advertise and boost it as we like but the net result would be at the outside perhaps two or three hundred people and two-thirds would be our own members. This refers to a London meeting.

The experiences of our Russian comrades have been accepted nd applied too literally. To transplant into Britain tactics, methods and so on, just because they happened elsewhere, is the height of folly, and to insist that this is the only correct line in spite of adverse experiences is suicidal.

Robotizing the Party

Whilst recognizing that discipline within a revolutionary party is a necessity. to instill fear into every member that a thought, word or deed which wobbles a hair's breath of the straight and narrow path, means expulsion—makes it not a party of intelligent working class fighters that is being built, but a party of robots. Our party might well shrink by half.

Can a party really have a healthy growth when the financial responsibilities are matters considered outside the jurisdiction of the membership? The experience of the British party is emphatically, No. A subsidized party sows the seeds of its own destruction.

Thousands of members have left the British party in disgust. Where we had locals of fifty to a hundred strongg, we have small groups and in many places only contacts. There are industrial cities by the score without a single party member.

This weakness reflects itself in other directions. The Y.C.L. is practically defunct. To state that they have a hundred and fifty members would be putting it high. A hundred would be nearer the mark.

The Minority Movement is in a similar position. Following any strikes where their members have taken a leading part, the **Worker** (organ of the M.M.) devotes pages for weeks afterwards to **our mistakes.** Always mistakes and defeats, never victories or good generalship.

The Minority Movement

A recent issue of the **Worker** devotes more than half a page to a meeting of the execeutive committee and if the brief and incomplete statements of the E.C. members are anything to go by, it appears fairly obvious that a general state of dissatisfaction exists.

In view of the fact that the army of unemployed has reached the two million mark, and the workers have thrown off the apathy that followed the general strike of 1926, and are now fighting every inch against all schemes of capitalist rationalization, a continual decline of a revolutionary party shows something must be wrong. The above is not a pleasant picture to paint, and it certainly would not be correct to state that all hope has been abandoned. Recently there have been signs of an awakening. The mesmeric influence is weakening.

Just what will happen when certain of the sleepers awake is hard to state, but it sure will be interesting. Future developments within the British party are worth watching.

—"BLACK DIAMOND"

London, August 6, 1930

Rakovsky in Danger!

(Continued from page 1)

A third raid and search has just been made at Rakovsky's The ring draws more tightly around him. Rakovsky is in danger.

The Left Opposition calls to every Party comrade, to every member of the Left wing and its unions, of the I.L.D. and the Friends of the Soviet Usion: Comrades, it is the best Bolsheviks that are being exterminated. The bourgeoisie is following this work of extermination with a silent joy. It is pursuing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat by every means, including the external and internal corruption of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Remember this: Stalin replaces the Rakovskys with Bessedovskys. He unites with Purcell and Chiang Kai-Shek but has only the most brutal methods against Trotsky. He assassinates Blumkin and puts Agabekov in his place. These changes are an inexorable law of Stalinism.

To defend the U.S.S.R., the dictatorship of the proletariat means primarily to save the Left wing of the Bolshevik party, the Oppositionists. You must act with energy in the revolutionary oganizations. In the Party, in the T.U.U.L., in the I.L.D.—raise these questions to the irresponsible bureaucrats: **What are you doing with the deportees? What is the situation in the solitary confinement prisons? Why was Blumkin killed?**

To Browder, Bedacht, Hathaway and Co. the triumphant leaders of every defeat and setback to our Party, we ask: **What are you doing to our deported comrades? What are you doing now with Rakovsky?**

Self-Determination

The Problem of Mobilizing the Negroes in the Class Struggle

The Communist International has issued the slogan of Self-Determination for the American Negro. The 7th Convention Thesis of the American Party says, "The Party must organize the most intense struggle around the demand of social and political equality for Negroes, which is still the main demand of our party in its work among Negroes. At the same time the Party openly and unreservedly fights for the right of the Negroes for national self-determination in the South, where the Negroes comprise a majority of the population. Self-determination for the Negro masses is the logical continuation and highest expression of the struggle for equal rights (social equality)."

Is Slogan Correct?

There can be no argument among Communists regarding social and political equality for the Negro masses. The question is, does the slogan of self-determination mean "the logical continuation and highest expression of the struggle for equal rights" for the Negro of the United States?

Either class, capitalist or proletariat, can use the slogan of self-determination to their advantage in concrete situations. The proletarian vanguard uses it against the imperialist in the colonial struggle for freedom. The capitalists use the slogan too, and a good example is its use against the defeated nations and the Soviet Union as a two-edged sword in the Balkans and Central Europe at the close of the last world war. Self-determination under a Soviet power is a concession and transitory measure in our development toward Communism. Such a concession in the south may be necessary but the conditions of the Negros, interwoven in the whole economic structure with decisive sections in the industrial centers indicates that such will not be needed.

Self-determination for a colonial people or subjected national unit with cultural and language differences is a blow against the enemy forces and a step toward our hegemony. But self-determination for the American Negro can only be accomplished by the establishment of a Soviet power and such a measure then would not be a stepping stone.

Self-determination at that stage instead of a Soviet class emphasis means subordinating the class issue to the race issue because all indications are that such a stepping stone or concession is not necessary. Cuba, India, Manchuria or Ireland constitute economic units with language and cultural differences, etc., and such slogans at certain stages can be used by the proletariat against the imperialists but this slogan for the American Negro who does not constitute such a unit only blurs the class issue of the struggle in America.

The Garvey Movement

The Garvey movement rallied a considerable mass for the slogan of self-determination as a petty-bourgeois movement directing their energies away from the class struggle. The Party says we are turning this right side up. In the case of Garveyism the slogan was right reformism and in our case it is only shifted to left reformism. The change from Garveyism to the Party is a change in form but not in content. The change from Africa (Garveyism) to the South (Stalinism) may be far in miles but it is quite close in content. The Negro business man who is a watchdog for imperialism must not be confused with the petty-bourgeois element and ideology of the Negro, just like the A.F.L. leaders as imperialist watchdogs must not be confused with the liberals and petty-bourgeoisie even though all these unite on many issues. The petty bourgeois section will join our bandwagon, not as a back seat driver but as the real driver because the slogan takes the class content out of the struggle for the United States.

Self-determination within a national unit must imply more than double exploitation, racial difference or a majority in a backward section, to be used as a slogan. The Negro race has the same language, are part of the same economic unit and do not have marked cultural differences. The Mexican in the southwest faces the same conditions the Negro does and in addition has language and cultural differences. If the slogan means anything it must include him where he is the majority.

The Party says self-determination in the south where the Negro comprises the majority of the population but the Party uses the slogan mainly in the north and in the industrial centers.

The distinction drawn between the north and the south as to where the condition of self-determination is to be carried out leaves the impression on many Negro workers that we want them to leave the north and the industrial centers and go back south. On the other hand it implies that the southern agrarian Negro is the decisive section of our ally. We know that the industrial Negro (including such centres as Birmingham) are the decisive section of the Negro race. The industrial and urban Negro and the Negro in the north does not want self-determination if he must move south. What the Negroes want is social and political equality where they are. The white worker must put the main emphasis on this side of the question.

Racial and Economic Oppression

Racial oppression is economic oppression and the class struggle in this case takes on racial forms. But as Marxists our aim is not to enlarge the racial form or any other dstorted form but on the contrary, to direct our slogans, tactics and strategy to transform this racial form toward the real content of the class struggle. The class issue must dominate and especially the proletarian Negro where we are using this slogan the most.

The slogan also shows confusion of the problem of imperialism and the colonial oppressed. The Negro of the United States cannot be classified as an oppressed national group as was the case of peoples under Czarism with national cultural and language differences. The decisive section of the American Negro is interwoven through the whole economic unit, just like the oppressed Jewish people are interwoven through the whole capitalist system. The Negro of the United States demands social and political equality where he is. The decisive section of the Negro race is scattered through the whole economic unit and the Soviet power with proletarian democracy can easily remedy the situation in the south. "Against white chauvinism and for social and political equality for the Negro masses!" —H.

The Fight of the New York Plumbers Helpers

"Every trade man a union man is a slogan never omitted from the journals of the A. F. of L., but there is an abyss between their words and their deeds One of the strongholds of the A F of L is the building trades, but the industry is far from being organized "Patronize the union label", "do not work with a scab" and other slogans like it are the favorites of unionism as proclaimed by various AF. of L. organizations, but after these many years the potential scab on the building construction job remains ignored.

The plumber's helper is a building trades worker who is not only exploited by the boss but also the goat of the industry. In all the days of "prosperity", when wages ranged from $12.00 to $15.00 a day and $8.00 to $11.00 for apprentices, the plumper's helper received a meager $4.00 a day. The cost of living rose with the wage increases, but the helpers wage remained the same.

Many attempts have been made by the workers in the trade to organize into a union to better their working conditions and in general, to gain the benefits of organized labor. Many were the lessons taught these young workers that the officialdom of the A. F. of L. would not organize them. They not only discourage organization, but continue to hinder its slightest progress.

The year 1927 was rich with such experiences. The American Association of Plumbers' Helpers, with more than 3,500 members, was welded together in greater New York, fighting for recognition from the United Association of Plumbers, Steam Fitters and Gasfitters and from the bosses. The organization embraced largely young, native American workers ranging from 18 to 25 years of age. Throughout the campaign of organization, and during the plumbers strike of that year, the helpers conducted a spirited battle for organizing the trade under the influence and leadership of the Young Communist League.

Picketing of jobs, agitation among the plumbers and building trades workers, were carried on. Quite a bit of sympathy for the cause of the helpers was reflected in the rank and file of these organizations only to be choked by the soothing words and lies of the officials. Yet the boycotting of the journeymen plumber's officials did not hinder the organization so much as the policy then pursued by the plumbers' helpers officials.

Too much confidence was placed in the A.F. of L. local leadership in applying for recognition Jobs that it was possible to strike and hold until recognition from the boss plumber, were left alone. The failure to strike the job for job control was one of the prime causes for the dwindling of the organization And an additional factor hindering the work in the organization was the reflection of the factional strife among the executive board members imported into it by the ruling Party clique which was more interested in factional advantage than in advancing the cause of the workers.

—J SPRAGUE

(Another article on the problems of the plumbers' helpers will appear in our next issue.)

Problems of the Revolutionary Movement

A Statement of Views on Some Disputed Questions

By ALBERT WEISBORD

(NOTE: We print here the essential sections of a speech delivered by comrade Albert Weisbord at the recent plenum of the Lovestone group. The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has decided to publish the speech in the Militant. The second and last part of it will appear in the next issue of the paper, at which time the National Committee will append a statement of its views on the document of comrade Weisbord. The latter, as most readers are aware, was expelled from the Party a while ago for divergent views, and joined neither the Left nor the Right Opposition The document below represents his views on the problems of the movement moment arrived at after a period of study and consideration.—Ed.)

. . . **4.** With the world war and the revolutionary wave that followed its wake, the epoch of imperialism entered a new stage qualitatively different from the one existing before (from 1900 to 1914). Distinctive of this new stage are the following: (a) the proletarian revolution is victorious in the U.S.S.R. (b) Post-war capitalism, with all its force, cannot get back to pre-war stability The decline of capitalism cannot be stopped. All the attempts at "stabilization" become desperate efforts merely to slacken the tempo of the international revolution. This can be seen by the fact that, during this time, while some revolutionary situations are liquidated by the forces of international capitalism, yet some revolutionary situations cannot be liquidated and new ones constantly and repeatedly arise; concurrently a whole host of other situations begin to take on a revolutionary character. (Germany 1923, Bulgaria 1924, Esthonia 1924, China 1925-27, England 1926, Austria 1928. India, China, Indo-China, besides Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Porto Rico, Finland. etc.).

Situation Before and After War

Before the war, neither revolutionary situations nor actual revolutions could have been created by the activity of the socialist, revolutionary parties throughout the world. No matter how well or tirelessly these parties worked the bourgeoisie was too strong, the level of activity of the masses, generally speaking, too low, to cause a given situation to become a revolutionary one. Basically, these revolutionary situations had to develop by themselves from the objective contradictions arising in capitalist society. When, during and after the war, these objective contradictions did cause revolutionary situations to arise, by that time the subjecive factor had become so powerful as to be able to mature such revolutionary situations in a number of countries, into actual revolutions. Today imperialism has become so much weaker, today, so close is the situation in a number of countries to a revolutionary one, that it is possible for an international Communist movement, PROVIDED IT HAS A LENINIST POLICY, and especially now when it controls a state backed by 150,000,000 workers and peasants, to develop situations otherwise still non-revolutionary into revolutionary situations. in DIFFERENT countries at DIFFERENT times. (This does not mean that a C.I. can "order" a revolutionary situation in ANY country at ANY time). It is a fact that today, with the correct policy, it is far easier in many countries to disintegrate the capitalist armies, to ruin the prestige of the ruling classes, to expose the petty bourgeosie, and to activize the masses to an extraordinary degree than before.

Every worker knows that, under some conditions, the activity of a Communist group can "develop" a strike situation, where without this Communist group, no such situation would have been "developed". Today the Communist Party (under some circumstances and with a Leninist policy)can be the decisive force both in stimulating the exploited and oppressed masses with the understanding of the impossibility of living in the old way and in helping to make the ruling class unable to govern as of old. Since the war the old power and might of the ruling classes have been irretrievably broken. Further, the experiences of 1918-23 weigh mightily on the memory of the masses—the ruling classes in many countries were unable to govern once before. Finally, the Soviet Union with its tremendous economic and political weight will be able to throw this weight at times so as to help break the economic and political power of different sections of the international bourgeoisie at critical moments . . . .

5. What must be the cornerstone of Communist international strategy is the recognition of this qualitative change in imperialism. Today it is possible to have "sudden" changes to revolutionary situations, "sudden" revolutions. Today there has been raised to hitherto unheard of degree the decisive importance of revolutionary organizations, first as factors maturing ("creating") revolutionary situations and second, as factors changing revolutionary situations to actual revolutions (insurrections).

The fatal error in the Communist "Majority Group" (Lovestone) is that it fails to see this fundamental feature of the present stage, and to make this feature an integral part of any American analysis.

Errors of Party Leadership

The fatal error of the C.I. and its U.S. "leadership", is that it caricatures and distorts this basic conception, not understanding it and indeed transforming it into a theory justifying putchism, making of the party a sect more and more isolated from the masses, more and more stifled by an absolutely sterile bureaucratic machine. The official C.P. "leaders" in the United States fail to see that an insurrection can come only after the development of a revolutionary situation and fail to understand that to develop this revolutionary situation one must follow a Leninist line of mass work, united front, work in reactionary unions, profound economic analysis, the understanding of the true relationship of American to international capitalist society, and the peculiarities of capitalist America; and that an end must be put to guesswork, phrase-mongering, to the fakery and lying in the leadership, to the theory of "fascism" and "social-fascism" to the bureaucracy and violence, to the Trotsky deportations and Blumkin murders, an end to the theory of socialism in one country, to Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee affairs, and Chiang Kai Shek mergers, etc. . . .

7. Secondly, an analysis of the present situation shows that the contradictions are sharpening and the tempo of international revolution is rising (that is, the "partial and temporary stabilization" of capitalism is becoming weaker than before). The original position of the Communst "Majority" Group is here too unsound; while on the other hand, the very putchist distortion of this by the official Party leadership tends to hinder the process of the cracking of "stabilization" now taking place and to weaken the revolutionary forces. Far from stimulating the masses, the false policy of the C.I. actually acts as a brake on the masses.

Section B. 8. The situation in America exposes in even clearer light the errors of the different Communist groups. The American section of Lozovsky-Stalin apparatus-men has never yet given up its "apex theory" and all that follows logically from it—namely, that American capitalism is on the decline. has reached its basic crisis with a general deep-going and widespread radicalization of the masses. To this has now been added the special twist that all members of the A.F. of L.. are now full blown fascists and that all those expelled by the Stalin machine at once become secret police agents for the boss. To some extent the "Communist League (Opposition)" in America has limped uncritically after the Party (without, however, the added special twists). Though this opposition group gave up the "apex theory" yet it did so without having thoroughly exposed the errors inherent in it. And even today it still talks of "growing radicalization", "deep-going process of radicalization" quite uncritically.

On the other hand, the "Majority" Group merely sees in fact "deep discontent". With this group the present economic crisis is IN ESSENCE a mere cyclical one, (it seems as if latterly a section of the Party too is violently swinging to the point of view) and the dogmatic statement is made, with no appreciation of its rashness, that not only will American capitalism weather the present economic storm, but that it will rise to new peaks only to fall to new lows.

The true situation is that with the qualitative changes of post war imperialism, with the weakening of world "stabilization", with the sharpening of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, there can be no "mere cyclical crisis", no "mere discontent" but what we have to reckon with is a tenseness of relations, a restiveness of the masses which can enable a Communist Party WITH THE CORRECT POLICY to lead masses into such activity as to radicalize the masses. There is great POTENTIALITY NOT ACTUALITY of masses becoming radicalized generally and relatively quickly. But the foolish policy of the party only drives the masses further away from radicalization.

The American Crisis

9. The dogmatic statements—1. That American capitalism will weather the present economic crisis and 2. That it will rise to new peaks, utterly fails to take into account the international situation. It may be that due above all to the criminal policies of the C.I., this eventuality MAY OCCUR, but it is impossible to state so now as the sole solution. The "Majority" group fails IN REALITY to see that the economic crisis in the United States means economic crisis in many countries (for this group does not make such a view a VITAL part of its living work in America); that in some of these countries such a crisis if prolonged will lead to a real revolutionary situation, that a revolution breaking out in Europe may not only deepen the American crisis but will usher in a new and higher stage of the world revolution. Is such an alternative (or a number of similar alternatives which result in the ushering of a world crisis) impossible? Quite the contrary! For Communists, the whole perspective for the United States must constantly and intimately be perated with this view . . . .

11. Only by a Leninist policy are the Communists enabled to radicalize the masses in the United States. This policy means "To the Masses", mass work in all its forms, formation of independent mass organizations where possible and necessary, the united front, work in reactionary trade unions and similar bodies, Labor Party, etc. To accomplish such mass work it is necessary to Leninize the Party, namely to base the Party on the most exploited sections of the masses, to wipe out the bureaucracy (the liars and fakers) in the Party, to demand as an absolute condition and prerequisite to leadership 1. The tested ability to carry out mass work in a Communist manner. 2. The liquidation of the mountain of vulgar Marxism and syndicalist-liberal conceptions and a real study of the basic works of the founders of Communism. 3. Profound honesty, integrity and courage.

To all this the present "theories" of "Fascism" and "Social-Fascism" give a death blow. These "theories" wiping out as they do all the Marxian-Leninist distinctions between fascism and regular bourgeois democracy mean 1. The reactionary unions are to be destroyed from now on, the workers in the A.F.ofL. being hopeless fascists, enemies of the working class. 2. The socialist and progressive workers being "social-fascists" are only secret agents of the fascists. These two must be destroyed. 3. The Communist opposition groups become not only full grown Mensheviks but worse, police agents, having no place in unions or other working class organizations. Any action against them up to complete physical extermination is justified. 4. The line between Communism and fascism theoretically becomes very thin for overnight; no matter how tested and loyal before, any Communist can become a police-agent Menshevik or fascist. Therefore the greatest violence and terror is theoretically justified not only against the "open police-agent Mensheviks" but against the members of the party, the possible police-agent Mensheviks of the future. 5. Since every tested member tomorrow can be a police-agent Menshevik, revolutionary behaviour in mass work is no longer a test for leadership. Any faker or apparatus follower can be a leader. Leaders are cheap and easily made. Distrust for the leadership follows. Cynicism not revolutionary idealism pervades the party. Double-book-keeping (see the hypocrisy of those who put forth the C.I. Address of 1929) becomes the rule. Correspondingly a contempt for the membership grows. Political sterility increases. No policies except those printed in Moscow with a militarization and robotization (Stalinization) of the Party. In this connection the quotation from the recently adopted "C.P. Thesis" which declares "The need of the hour is clarity of instructions and promptness of executions" is illuminating of the process now going on within the party.

There can be no doubt but that the conscious holders of these theories, (Browder, Johnstone, Dunne and the rest of the Company) if they carry these theories to the logical conclusions and practices inevitably flowing from them, must degenerate to become the real renegades from Communism, indeed the real fascists of tomorrow!

(Concluded in Next Issue)

Slander Won't Win

BOSTON—

At an outing of the Needle Trades Industrial Union that was held the week-end of July 4 at Boston Camp Nitgedaiget, we had a mass meeting with Ben Gold. We all expected to hear him speak on trade union problems which are so vital to us, but instead he took up a discussion on the Trotskyists. He tried to prove that the Trotskyists bring poison and splits into the union and naturally this hinders the good work.

Let us see who does more damage. All the comrades in the union in Boston (and Gold, too), know that comrade Eva Weiner and myself were among the first to build the N.T.W.I.U. The workers trust us, know that we are always on the job to carry out all decisions which are passed by the members. Gold knows that the Communist League (Opposition) is for a Left wing policy. We never brought in any other kind of policies and always demanded from our leaders that they carry out a real Left wing fight.

So what is Gold's motive in bringing this question up and saying that we don't build the Left wing union? To discredit us among the workers. Everyone knows that this is fale and that it will not do any good for the union. We must draw in all active workers who are honestly carrying out our policy and helping to build the Industrial Union.

No one can split the union more than tactics like Gold's. If he wants to prove that we did any harm to the union, let him call an open forum and invite the Trotskyists. Let him prove that we are doing harm because we are Trotskyists. He said that we were dead. Then how can we do any harm? Dead ones do not do anything. If the Trotskyists are dead everywhere why do the Stalinists come and break up their meetings like they did in Cleveland? What are they afraid of?

You will not be able, comrade Gold, to kill our prestige among the Boston workers because they know we always work for a good Left wing policy and will do everything to build the N.T.W.I.U. as we have in the past. —J.CHIPLOWITZ

Φ

A Revolutionary «Social Fascist»

A few days ago, the **Daily Worker** went into positively frantic ecstacies over as anti-Heywood Broun-S.P. cartoon by Ryan Walker. It hailed Walker as a noble revolutionist who was revolted by the scoundrelism of the Socialist Party. The **Daily** became so maudlin in its enthusiasm that toward the end of the article it was literally slobbering over Walker. It appears however, that Walker is the staff cartoonist of the Illinois **Miner,** official organ of the Howat-Fishwick-Germer miners' union, which as even a casual reader of the **Daily Worker** knows is a pure and simple "social fascist" organization, covered with a Left phrase or two, but "social fascist" nevertheless. Walker, according to the third period jargon, is therefore a paid agent of "social fascism". Or rather he was, for after the praise with which the **Worker** greeted him he most probably falls into a new category, the "Revolutionary Social Fascist". Personally, we advise the **Worker** to stick to Jake Burck.

A Review and Criticism

The Communists in the South

By HUGO OEHLER

(11) With the black hundreds in the saddle and our activity shifted to holding and reorganizing our forces for a comeback we started our new work. Secret work in the Gastonia area through mill locals and increased open work all over the South to hem in Gastonia and to narrow the circle and close in. All that was needed in the outer area was organization, for the sentiment for us was there in masses and our organizers and colonizers from the outer area all sent letters telling us they are behind us and to keep up the good work. Many new contacts were gained and work toward October 13 went ahead.

The newspapers predicted that our convention would now be a failure and the bosses openly declared that it would not be held. We decided it had to be held even if we had to move out of this area but a survey of our forces convinced us we could hold it in Charlotte as originally planned. The third trial was on and while the legal end was taking care of the trial the organizers were as busy as hell with the union work in the two Carolinas, Virginia, Tennessee and Georgia. Campaign after campaign was launched against us, one on the heel of the other so fast that it seemed like one continuation: red scare, Negro issue, revolution, etc., but this did not stop the work from progressing toward October 13.

(m) Now to consider a few of the other issues for a while. As far as the national I.L.D. campaign by this time was concerned it was a flop. We had a direct issue, more important to the American workers than the Sacco-Vanzetti issue (as far as they were concerned). Such favorable situations no organization had faced for years and naturally half an effort would show some results but on the whole we saw failure. Why? This failure can be traced to the "third period" tactics and the "third period" tactics can be traced to Stalin revisionism of Marxism, of the most fundamental international issues and the elimination of the Opposition.

In correcting the Party policy of the Right wing Lovestone leadership of "marrying" all possible fakers in the A.F.L. and other working class organizations we "corrected" this by dumping overboard with the fakers all progressives and Left wingers and Leninist united front tactics and replaced them with "pure" united front tactics with ourselves. Paper conferences were held everywhere.

(n) And the masses of other blunders and mistakes, a volume in itself, of all types of mistakes from important ones to little ones that amounted to setbacks were made by the incompetent leaders, Engdahl, Poyntz and Jakira. The field fraction pounded away at these errors, constantly, night and day, in every manner and form and found the leading committee at the center wanting because they were a hindrance inhtead of a help. I realize this now: That a Marxian Central Committee can correct this but a Central Committee made by a mechanical shift at the top replacing one variety of bureaucrats with another variety can only lead to further negative results.

In words the center accepted our program but in deeds—what follows shows the contradiction between the two. At this point serious minded comrades at the center (who were not decisive in determining actions instead of words from the center) laughed at my enthusiasm and told me that now since the spectacular, emotional part was over the bureaucrats would forget the south in deeds if not in words, and I would receive less support from now on than I had. This was my first trip to N.Y. with several more to follow on the same argument and I did not fully realize the truth of this statement until my last trip in December.

Yes, the spectacular end was over and the W.I.R. (Landy's incompetence) "pulling stakes" with the Leaksville strike on was followed by other departments in deeds (but not in words) and a decline set in after the end of the trial. The objective factor was more favorable but our force was not taking advantage of this situation. Reports from our field organizers and especially comrade Amy Schechter proved the favorable situation our work had given us this far.

The October optimism of our many southern organizers and mill local officials with months of this inactivity was transformed into pessimism and our fraction of northern comrades was in a similar condition. The postponed national textile convention held in December in Paterson did not solve one of the basic problems of the south. In the meantime the A.F.L. was increasing its work and with the liberals and a section of the bosses was being used as a dam against our advance.

Another blunder following from the "Third Period" is the lumping of all outside the official Communist Party as Fascist or Social Fascist while life was proving the class struggle is not so mechanical and simple.

In the Atlanta case the **Daily Worker** had a scare headline telling how the A.F.L. official on the jury helped indict our comrades calling for the death penalty. But facts prove that Steve Nance, President of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, member of the Grand Jury that brought in the indictment was the only one who voted against the indictment.. Later the Trades Assembly passed a resolution with only Secretary Marquardt of the State Federation and one other voting against the resolution calling for free speech for the Communists. This "third period tactic and misstatement played into the hands of these A.F.L. fakers as similar tactics play into the hands of Muste, Thomas, Howat, etc. Our plan is to defeat these labor lieutenants and not to strengthen them.

The "Party Task in the South" resolution to the 7th Convention of the C.P. says, "Our perspective must be for the defeat of the A.F.L. and its Muste wing in the mass industries of the south." We must by all means defeat these fakers in the ranks of labor but to say this in harsh terms, that may denote our feelings, and to accomplish the task are two different things. The present tactics of the official party is strengthening the position of these fakers instead of weakening their control over the masses.

Not even a half-baked revolutionist will argue that the struggle is simply one of the capitalist against the workers. The problem in the concrete is more complicated in the divisions and the many antagonisms within the classes and between the classes. Success or failure in advancing our position in winning a strike or revolution depends upon how many of the antagonisms and divisions in the workers ranks can be eliminated for united action against the enemy in a favorable objective situation and how wide a breach we can make in the class enemies ranks, the unity of the first and the division of the second spell success for us. But without a favorable objective situation we cannot speak of success.

In Marion for example, the Musteite wing of the A.F.L. first sent the striking workers back to work with a promise of a settlement that we know never did come, second, they did not force the mill owners to live up to the preliminary conditions pending settlement, third, sold these workers out after they were back to work, and fourth, betrayed these workers in the strike against the sellout contract. Such action DeLeon and others pointed out before and it is not a new and exclusive development of the "Third Period".

After all this and after the Marion massacre the Musteites still retained leadership and gained influence throughout the country. The southern fraction tried four times to break into Marion, but I realize now that each time our advance and attempt at united action against these fakers was shackled and we failed to gain our objective because this shackling from the top by "Third Period" tactics predetermined our united action from below. We were criticized four times by the center for these failures that can be traced back to them. Why not ask ourselves this: How can such brazen betrayals be rewarded by greater influence of the Muste wing while our class struggle of Gastonia, which even our enemies admit was led by forces that cannot be bought out or run out (as is the case with the A.F.L.) have not been able to organize our influence from this struggle which was on a much higher class plane?

You cannot answer this on the basis of capitalist reaction and the necessary "smallness" of the revolutionary forces until we are at a higher stage of the class struggle or in power, because the question is not the organization of the majority of workers under reactionary leadership or revolutionary leadership but the organization of a goodly section of the forces either reactionary or revolutionary in the struggles and strikes. We must also not forget we are in the "Third Period" with "revolutionary upsurge". Facts prove that with proper tactics the revolutionary movement can consolidate its influence organizationally, as it has done in the past. In other words, our tactics have not only weakened our own forces but at our expense have rendered aid to these very enemies we talk so much about. We do not expect to build POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL unions in a few weeks' work, overshadowing the few million membership of the A.F.L. but we can expect to build a substantial influence and organization in the labor movement under our leadership with correct tactics.

The Y. C. I. Letter Brought to Light!

(Costinued From Page 8)

away the base from the social reformists ....It is preisely in the period of radicalization that social reformism has all the opportunities of growth among the working class. The period likewise makes for greater opportunities for Communism..." (The Militant, March 8, 1930.) Now the Y.C.I. letter in its criticism of the N.E.C. estimation says: "It is obvious that the economic crisis narrows the basis for the influence of Social Reformism, you have also made a reservation as to the role of the League. But even these reservations cannot erase the fact that such a formulation shows an absolute underestimation of the influence of reformism and its possibilities for growth in such a country as America." Here is indeed confusion. One blind man cannot lead another. The Y.C.I. letter recognizes that there can be growth of reformism. But it is incapable of showing what is the basis for it. If the economic crisis narrows the basis for the influence of social reformism in the United States, then why speak of possibilities of its growth. The Stalinist bureaucrats of the E.C.Y.C.I. involve themselves in a maze of contradictions, and muddle the minds of the young Communists.

No Solution of the Problem

What does the letter propose as a remedy for the declining condition of the Y.C.L? Does it explain the cause for the situation? It can only exhaust itself in futile denunciations. It recommends a socalled "Plan of Action", which is thoroughly ultra-Left and adventurist. The main points of these recommendations have been incorporated by the N.E.C. in its "Shock Plan", which we have already criticized in the last issue of the Young Vanguard. It can speak of shock troops, fronts and "storming" and all the other terms in the dictionary of military warfare. It even recommends red lists for those who do good work and black for those who don't. We suggest that the N.E.C. institutes a system of dunce caps and high stools, and spank all the naughty culprits whose names appear twice in the black list. These childish schemes do not at all relieve the acute crisis the Y.C.L. is in.

From a political viewpoint, although its only merit lies in calling attention to a critical situation, the Y.C.I. letter is a puerile document. It explains nothing and it solves nothing. It may result in the changing or removal of individuals, in demotions and promotions. But that is to no avail. It will hasten the process of fundamental re-evaluation in the minds of the Y.C.L. members, which will constitute an important step in the direction of the Left Opposition. —GEORGE RAY

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then your subscription to the **Militant** has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Blackmailers Cloaked in Red Mantles

CLEVELAND—

The Czecho-Slovakian Stalinists of **Rovnost Ludu** continue to make bitter attacks upon me because I exposed them in the press. They call me "ex-detective", and according to them, I was supposed to have clubbed workers' heads in Youngstown during the steel strike. This is one of the most criminal calumnies. Having no ground to stand on, they invent the vilest and most vulgar stories. As a matter of fact, I was shot by a scab since I was the one that grabbed him and prevented him from sneaking in through the gate. I was also on the strikers' committee, representing a crew of 25. I know the methods of the Stalinists pretty well, yet I am astonished at such cheap and disgraceful methods against an Oppositionist in the ranks of Communism.

The pen-slaves of **Rovnost Ludu,** an official Party paper, are the kind of "Communists" who accept money from Czecho-Slovak multi-millionaires like Bata, the world's richest shoe manufacturer who exploits his slaves in the most inhuman manner. In **Rovnost Ludu,** you can find big advertisements from railroad companies, or Camel cigarets, not to mention various ads from bankers. This paper has degraded itself to such a degree that even Mr. Browder and his cohorts have protested against these advertisements. But then, who is really to blame for these anti-Communist ways of the **Rovnost Ludu** management if not the Party's chiefs?

While Lovestone reigned in the Party I warned him in letters that if he and the rest of the committee would continue to neglect their duty to discipline the editors and managers of this paper, one of the Party's organs would soon disappear or would end in a pit of mire. Ever since then, things have gone from bad to worse so that in Foster-Browders "Third Period", workers are obliged to read the announcement in that paper that asks them to attend the funeral of a fat business man in the Holy Trinity Church.

It would be well to mention that the proceeds from such ads are privately pocketed by a most unscrupulous individual named John Zuskar, who is supposed to act as secretary of the non-existent Czecho-Slovak Communist fraction. Under his influence, Communist morale and influence has dropped among the Czech workers.

Before I was expelled from the Party this scoundrel never dared make insinuations against me for fear of having to answer before the Party. Now that Stalin has opened his murderous drive against the Left Opposition, the ardent Zuskar never misses an opportunity to duplicate his master's methods. (By the way, it was due to him that the Party's criticism of **Rovnost Ludu** failed to appear there, until it was finally published in such a thoroughly distorted form that the Fosterites would be satisfied!)

Since this individual has continually impugned my revolutionary integrity and record, without replying to my demands for proof, I now openly challenge him and the Party to establish a public workers' court, composed of an equal number of representatives of the Party and the Communist League (Opposition) who will jointly choose one or more non-partisan members. Failure to concur in this proposal will brand Zuskar and those who maintain him in office as unscrupulous liars and blackmailers. We await a reply.

—JOSEPH KELLER

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BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Double No. 12—13 for June—July,1930

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- THE YOUNG VANGUARD -

The Y. C. I. Letter Is Brought to Light!

Now as a sort of climax to culminate the whole wretched ultra-Left course and expose the bankruptcy of the Centrist bureaucracy in sharp relief there appears the latest letter from the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to the Young Communist League of the U.S.A. The letter is of deep import to every young Communist. There will be more than one member of the Y.C.L. who after its perusaal will be jolted into seeing matters in a new light. The letter, intended to placate the dissatisfaction of the membership the failures and steady decline of the Y.C.L. and to make of the N.E.C. a scape goat for the opportunist line that emanates from the Y.C.I. will act as a double edged blade to the more serious and thoughtful member of the Y.C.L., cutting into the very roots of the situation.

Amateur and Skilled Suppressors

The letter was sent by the E.C.Y.C.I. on April 13, 1930, but the membership has became aware of its existence only now—four months later. The Harveys, the Steubens, the Greens and the other marionettes who so slavishly endeavored to impose the Stalinist line on the League, have kept it hidden from the eyes of the League. No doubt they felt the letter to be a piece of the basest ingratitude for their obedient services to Stalinism. To gain a proper appraisal of these people, one need only read sentences like "the information which we have at our disposal concerning the present situation in the American League and the recent plenum results are very scant...." and "we have not received a copy of the Young Worker for months".

The Lovestone group, which of course has always been famed for upright and open dealings with the E.C.Y.C.I. is triumphantly circulating the letter wholesale among the members of the League. The League leadership has suppressed the letter, they cry with righteous indignation. But in truth, the Harveys and Steubens are only the clumsy pupils of the Herbergs and Zams, who were much more refined, proficient and adept at this particular kind of manipulation. These present crude imitators can never hope to attain the high degree of skill and the fine and intricate methods of their predecessors. The present bunglers merely suppress the document. But their teachers when they received an embarrassing Y.C.I. letter, first withheld it from the membership for a certain amount of time, as long as this was feasible—but no more. Then they proclaimed their heartfelt conviction of the correctness of the letter, meanwhile conspiring with Lovestone and Pepper for the Polcom to appeal against it. Oh, it was really most complicated, but it was a genuine piece of Machiavellian machination.

The Y.C.I. Estimate of the Y.C.L

The Y.C.I. letter chastises the League leadership severely. In particular it criticizes the Y.C.L. Plenum held last January. The resolution adopted is condemned in no uncertain terms. "We must frankly tell you," the letter states, "that of all the resolutions of League Plenums yours is one of the worst." This is said despite the fact that the resolution was patterned almost entirely on the thesis of the last Y.C.I. plenum. (See the Militant, Feb. 1, 1930).

Our own estimation of the reolution has been strikingly confirmed. "The resolution adopted reveals the miserable situation in which the Y.C.L. finds itself—but explains nothing, and lays the basis for further decline." (The Militant, March 8, 1930.) The responsibility lies with the Stalinist regime.

The letter criticizes a false estimate of social reformism contained in the resolution. This erroneous conception was formulated in the N.E.C. resolution as follows:" "The radicalization of the young workers takes away the base of the social reformists among the young workers and while social reformism remains the chief ideological barrier, which we have to overcome amongst the young worker, there cas be no real growth of reformist youth organizations—but only disintegration, providing the Young Communist League plays its role." In criticism of this we said: "It is false to say that radicalization takes

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International Youth Day

As it Should Be

Tremendous demonstrations of youth, streaming out of factories and mines, off the fields, out of the ranks of the armies to show their spirited, active hatred of the capitalist system and all it means to the wage slaves of capitalism.

Mighty assemblages to signify their desire to struggle against the slave system. against long hours of automaton motions, low wages, prostitution, child labor, hovels, the dope dispensed by the dopesters of capitalism—church, school and press; against the mental and physical degradation forced upon the workers by the hunger system.

Particularly, to fight against the bosses war, the struggle against which the First Sunday in September, sixteen years ago was dedicated by the small band of loyal, revolutionary, young "Left" socialists as the Day of International Youth; to fight for the revolutionary fraternization of the young masses in different uniforms.

As it is

The slightest scratching of the surface of the powerful potential force of young toilers by a weak isolated, poorly educated, divided, misled Young Communist League and International; passing unheard and unheeded by the millions of young workers, who do not, and can not, understand the slogans and demands that should inspire and electrify the youth into determined action; because of the methods used by the Y.C.L.

What is to be Done

Correct Leninist policy—aimed at world Communism: leadership in the everyday struggles of the young workers, Marxist education, vigourous anti-war action; abandoning the inane phrase-flinging that marches cheek-by-jowl with opportunism; the acceptance into the full comradeship of strugge of the Left Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition within the Party and the Y.C.L.—these will make future International Youth Days what they should be.

LENIN AND THE YOUTH

TRAINING THE YOUTH

The Tasks of the Young Communist League

(A speech delivered at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, October 4, 1920.)

Comrades, I would like today to talk on the subject of the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League, and in connection with this, the form the youth organizations should take in a socialist republic.

The New Generation Will Build Communism

This question should be dealt with particularly for the reason that, in a certain sense, one may say that it is the youth particularly which is confronted with the present task of constructing Communist society. It is clear that the generation of workers brought up in capitalist society, at best can fulfil the task of destroying the foundations of old capitalist conditions built up on exploitation. At best this generation can fulfil the task of creating such social conditions as would help the proletariat and the working classes to maintain power and lay a firm foundation upon which only the generation commencing the work under new conditions, in circumstances where there are no relations of exploitation between men, can build.

The Task of the Youth is to Acquire Knowledge

Hence, approaching the question of the tasks of the youth from this point of view, I must say that the tasks of the youth generally and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organizations particularly, may be expressed in one sentence: the task is to acquire knowledge.

Of course, this is just "one sentence". It does not reply to the principal and most essential question—what knowledge to acquire and how to acquire it? And here the whole thing is that with the transformation of the old capitalist society, we cannot adopt the old forms of teaching, training and educating the new generation which will establish Communist society. Nevertheless, the teaching, training and educating of the youth must start with the material left us by the old society.

We can build Communism only with the aid of that sum of knowledge, the organizations and the institutions, with the aid of the stock of human forces and resources which has been left us by the old society. Only by radically reforming the methods of teaching, organizing and training the youth shall we be able to guarantee that the efforts of the young generation will result in the construction of a society unlike the old society, i. e., a Communist society.

What to Learn and How to Learn It

Consequently, we must deal with the question as to how we should teach and what we should teach the youth, in order that they may jutify their title of Communist youth; we must deal with the question as to how we may train the youth in order that they may be able to complete and perfect what we have commenced.

I should say that the first and what would seem to be the most natural reply would be that the Young Communist League and the youth as a whole who desire to go over to Communism, should learn Communism.

But to reply "learn Communism" is too general. What then do we need in order to learn Communism? What must we select out of the sum of total knowledge in order to acquire the knowledge of Communism? Here a number of dangers rise up which appear every time the task of learning Communism is presented incorrectly or when it is understood too one-sidedly.

Naturally, the first thing that enters one's mind is that learning Communism means to master the sum of knowledge that it contained in Communist text-books, pamphlets and larger works. But such a definition of the study of Communism should be too crude and insufficient.

Theory and Practice; Knowledge and Struggle.

If studying Communism merely meant the mastery of what is elucidated in Communist books and pamphlets, we could very easily get a number of Communists who could glibly roll off Communist text by heart. This would cause a considerable amount of harm, for these people, having learned by rote what is written in Communist books and pamphlets would be totally incapable of combining all this knowledge and would not be able to act as Communism really demands.

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left us by the old capitalist society, is the complete isolation of books from practical life. We had some books in which everything was presented in the best form, but in the majority of cases, these books represented a repulsive hypocritical lie which falsely described Communist society. Therefore, the mere learning by rote of what is written in books about Communism would be quite wrong.

In our speeches and writings of the present time ,we no longer repeat what was said formerly about Communism, because our speeches and writings are connected with everyday work in all its aspects. Without work, without struggle, a book knowledge of Communism gained from Communiht pamphlets and books is worth nothing, for it would merely continue the former gap between theory and pactice, the former gap which represented the most repulsive features of the old bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous, if we commenced to acquire only Communist slogans. If we did not realize this danger in time, and if we did not direct all our efforts to remove it, the half million or million boys and girls who after such a study of Communism would call themselves Communists would only bring considerable harm to the cause of Communism.

(To Be Continued)

The Youth and the Elections

The elections this year give the Communists an exceptionally good opportunity for rallying the working youth under their banner. The growing willingness of the young workers to struggle, their greater participation in the struggles of the working class, the increased economic pressure on the young workers in the present economic crisis (unemployment, further lowering of wages, worsening of conditions of labor) serve as a substantial base for the growth of influence of the Communist Youth.

In participating in capitalist parliamentary elections Communists aim to educate the broad mass of workers, rally them around the vital questions that affect them. organize them for the struggle against the boss class and its state power, and for the establishment of a revolutionary workers government, the young Communists must make special efforts to attract the young workers.

Winning the Young Workers

The task of winning the young workers is organically connected with the problem of winning the entire working class. The problems of the general working class are the problems of the young workers—since the latter are a section of the former. However, the young workers as such have certain different characteristics and therefore certain particular problems. Because of its physical and intellectual immaturity, the youth has special so-called social needs and requirements — educational, cultural etc. These must be dealt with in the attempt to win over the youth for Communism.

In the United States, as in all capitalist democracies, although the youth are drawn into industry at a low age, compelled by economic necessity (and at periods by law) to join the military forces, in a word are forced to take upon themselves the "social responsibilities" of an adult, they are deprived of the right of franchise. The millions of youth in this country between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one who are barred from voting can be rallied around the slogan of: A vote for every youth eighteen or more years of age! The pretensions of bourgeois democracy can thereby more easily be exposed. Even the socalists, the arch-defenders of capitalist democracy, have given support to this disenfranchisement of millions of young workers and students.

Youth Omitted in C.P. Platform

The Communist Party in its current platform does not even mention the position of the working youth; it raises not even a single demand for the young workers! The so-called leadership of the official Y.C.L. is too taken up with its "Plan of Action" (!) to occupy itself with such "trifles". Nevertheless, youth demands must be issued; a special effort must be made to reach the millions of toiling youth. The pivot point must be a contrast of the conditions of the youth under wage slavery and those under a workers' Soviet government.

The Left Opposition Youth, as part of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will participate in the ensuing election campaign, and support the Communist Party. Members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League should demand that those organziations accept our offers of cooperation in the elections. Young Communists should insist on definite youth election demands. Young workers, young students and young Communists should rally around the demands of the Left Opposition Youth:

The right to vote for all youth 18 years or over.

6-hour day, 5-day week for all young workers.

The abolition of child labor under the age of 16 with state maintenance for those at present employed.

The establishment of work-schools for young workers between the ages of 16 and up—modelled on the present system in the Soviet Union.

Two weeks vacation with pay for all young workers. —JOESPH FRIEDMAN